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ABSTRACT

A study investigated the syntactic properties and functions of English-Spanish code-switching in literary, political, and news magazines in Mexico. It is proposed that oral code-switching in Chicano communities and written code-switching in the Mexican press differ both syntactically and pragmatically, with the latter more syntactically restricted. Spanish is found to be the matrix language in the Mexican press, while in Chicano code-switching the matrix language is not always discernable. Several possible explanations are offered. In addition, it is found that code-switching in the Mexican press has limited pragmatic functions because it involves a written channel, is addressed to an anonymous audience, and is constrained by negative attitudes toward the type of code-switching found in the United States' Chicano community and the ambivalent status of English in Mexico. Finally, it is noted that this ambivalence is reflected in the use of English in the Mexican press, where it is used both to evoke a more precise image or sophisticated tone than a Spanish word or phrase and to attack American politics and values. (MSE)

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The Pragmatics of Codeswitching in Mexican Political, Literacy and News Magazines

Erica McClure

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The Pragmatics of Codeswitching in Mexican Political, Literary and News Magazines

Erica McClure

Since the 1970's numerous articles have been published on English-Spanish oral code-switching in Chicano communities. However little attention has been paid to the use of English in Mexico except at the level of borrowings. The present study offers a brief discussion of some of the syntactic properties of codeswitching in Mexican political, literary and news magazines, as well as a more extensive analysis of its functions. Differences between oral codeswitching in Chicano communities and written codeswitching in the Mexican press are noted and an explanation of these dissimilarities is proposed based both on factors associated with the channel difference -- oral versus written -- and on the difference in the relationship that the Chicano and Mexican speech communities have with the American anglophone speech community.

Since the 1970's numerous studies have been published on codeswitching in Chicano communities in the United States, most focussing on oral codeswitching. In contrast, the present study focuses on codeswitching in Mexico, about which little has been written. Furthermore, the present study examines codeswitching in the press, specifically in political and literary magazines, rather than oral codeswitching. Although the focus of the present study is the pragmatics of codeswitching; in order to establish what linguistic expressions will be considered, it is necessary to address first a recurrent problem in research on codeswitching: identification of codeswitches.

CODESWITCHING DEFINED

What constitutes a minimal codeswitch is an issue which continues to create dissention. At one extreme there is the position of Schaffer who states:

> ... it has been argued that the language of elements surrounding a head word, including proper concord and agreement as marked by structure words and affixes within the phrase is a more accurate indicator of switching as opposed to borrowing. Switching would therefore seem to involve entire phrases rather than single words. It is not without good reason that Clyne (1967, p. 19) referred to switching as "multiple transference." (Schaffer, 1978, p. 268)

At the other extreme, Pfaff (1975, p. 17) concludes that rather than segregating language contact phenomena, it may be advantageous to study their interplay. Thus in her tri-partite classification of styles of codeswitching, she notes that in the third type, "Spanish street talk," "switching to English is mainly for *single* nouns, verbs, adjectives and set phrases." Somewhere in the middle is a position which does not exclude the possibility of single word switches, but which seeks to distinguish them from borrowings. Generally the distinction rests on two grounds: borrowings are phonologically and morphologically integrated into the borrowing language and within the speech community they are accepted as bona fide elements of and are in general use in the borrowing language. Both of these criteria are, however, slippery. With respect to phonology, Schaffer points out that

> As noted by Diebold (1963) and Hasselmo (1970) among others, the phonology of switches may spill across lexemes, especially where the switches are in close proximity rather than having been separated by a pause. Thus, some instances which researchers still wanted to classify as switches exhibited some measure of overlap. Phonology was not a totally consistent guide to identifying switches. (1978, p. 268)

In the case of written text, phonology is obviously no guide at all, but print offers a different means of marking codeswitches. Authors can indicate what they believe to be the status of lexical items by setting off codeswitches with italics, bold face type, quotation marks or underlining. However this means of identifying codeswitches may be somewhat dubious. In the corpus considered here, some words were set off in print; although they appear in monolingual Spanish dictionaries. Examples are: *beatnik*, *cash flow*, *dumping*, *hobby*, *jeans*, *mass media* and *striptease*. Conversely others such as *cash*, *clóset*, *hit*, *hot*, *shopping* and *script* appeared with no graphic marker indicating that they were not accepted Spanish words, although, they do not appear in monolingual Spanish dictionaries.

However, the attempt to ascertain the status of a word as borrowing or codeswitch by investigating norms of usage is also hazardous. One may in questioning members of the same speech community about the status of a lexeme receive responses ranging from an indication of no awareness that it was ever not part of the language, through claims that it is a well integrated borrowing, to statements that it is not part of the language at all, the response depending on the linguistic sophistication and attitude of the informant. (See McClure 1972 and McClure and McClure 1977).

Clearly there is no neat algorithm for determining the status of a word or even occasionally a phrase as codeswitch or borrowing. Indeed it seems quite possible that for different people the same form has a different status. In this paper I have included as codeswitches all forms set off by the authors with italics, boldface type, underlining or quotation marks as well as all forms found neither in the large *Larousse* or *Porrúa* dictionaries. The data analyzed are derived from the 1989 and 1990 issues of the political, literary and news magazines *Proceso*, *Vuelta*, *Nexos*, *Siempre* and *Contenido*.

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF MEXICAN JOURNALISTIC CODESWITCHES

Let us now take a brief look at the syntactic structure of the codeswitches in this corpus. Excluding names and titles, a total of 535 codeswitches were found. Of these, as can be seen by looking at table I, the vast majority were single nouns (69%), a finding in accord with other codeswitching studies where such switches were not excluded by definition. The next most frequent category consisted of adjective plus noun, but it accounted for only 13% of the switches. Full sentence switches accounted for 7% of the data, while adjectives and prepositional phrases accounted for 5% and 2% respectively. Collectively the above mentioned categories accounted for 95% of all switches. These data differ from those reported in studies of codeswitching in Chicano communities in the U.S. in the lack of major constituent switches. There are no VP or full clause switches and very few full NP switches. Perhaps this paucity is due to the fact that Spanish is clearly the language of general discourse in this corpus, whereas in Chicano communities in the U.S., English plays a much larger role.

Table 1.

1.	Noun	370	(69%)
2.	Adjective + Noun	69	(13%)
3.	Sentence	37	(7%)
4.	Adjective	24	(5%)
5.	Prepositional Phrase	11	(2%)
6.	other	24	(5%)

*percentages do not add to 100% because of rounding

As Valdés (1990) has noted, in the U.S. Chicano environment, bilingualism is a community phenomenon in which English, the language of the majority, is the prestige language, Spanish, the language of a subordinated minority. To participate in the world outside the barrio, to succeed academically, to get ahead, a Chicano must speak English. However in Mexico, Spanish-English bilingualism is not a community phenomenon geographically delimited. Instead we find individual bilingualism. Furthermore, the bilingualism of Mexico is not minority bilingualism. Spanish is both the language of the majority and the language of prestige. There is no context other than tourism in which English is necessary. Indeed, Valdés points out that on occasions Mexicans may take pride in not having learned English. But, on the other hand, being bilingual may also be a source of pride. However, the Mexican tends to avoid mixing the two languages, stigmatizing such usage as characteristic of the "Pocho" or Mexican-American. In fact, in 1981 a National Commission for the Defense of the Spanish Language was established in Mexico to standardize the Spanish spoken there and to protect it, particularly in border regions. Such a defense was seen as important in maintaining the culture of Mexico, "a particular manner of understanding reality and a characteristic form of thinking and of being" (Valdés, 1990 p. 43). Despite such attitudes, however, English loan words continue to penetrate Mexican Spanish and limited codeswitching exists.

MEXICAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES

The ambivalence that exists in Mexican attitudes to the use of English reflects their ambivalent feelings towards the U.S. in general. These feelings are a logical outcome of the political, economic, and cultural hegemony that the U.S. has exercised with respect to Latin America as a whole and nowhere more strongly than in Mexico. In his book *Tiempo Nublado*, the Mexican Nobel laureate Octavio Paz states that:

> The idea that the people of Mexico have of the United States is contradictory, passionate and impervious to criticism, more than an idea it is a mythic image. The same thing can be said of the vision held by our intellectuals and writers (1985, p. 140, my translation).

Alan Riding, a correspondent who has worked in Latin America since 1971 and who was the head of the Mexico City office of The New York Times for six years, explains this attitude in his book, *Distant Neighbors. A Portrait of the Mexicans* (1985). In a chapter whose title is taken from a statement often attributed to Porfirio Díaz (Pobre México, tan lejos de Diós y tan cerca de los Estados Unidos "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States"), Riding states:

> The asymmetry of power determines how Mexico and the United States view each other. Differences of history, religion, race and language serve to complicate their relationship, to contrast their ways of doing things, to widen the gulf of understanding that separates them. But all these variables are overshadowed by the inescapable and unique fact that a vulnerable developing country shares a 2,000-mile border with the world's richest and strongest power. When confronting its northern neighbor, history has taught Mexico that it has few defenses.
>
> Contiguity with the United States has proved a permanent psychological trauma. Mexico cannot come to terms with having lost half of its territory to the United States, with Washington's frequent meddling in its political affairs, with the U.S. hold on its economy and with growing cultural penetration by the American way of life. It is also powerless to prevent these interventions from taking place, and is even occasionally hurt by measures adopted in Washington that did not have Mexico in mind. And it has failed to persuade Washington to give it special attention. Intentionally or not, Mexico has been the target of American disdain and neglect and, above all, a victim of the pervasive inequality of the relationship.

The emotional prism of defeat and resentment through which Mexico views every bilateral problem is not simply the legacy of unpardoned injustices from the past. Contemporary problems -- migration, trade, energy and credits -- also involve

the clash of conflicting national interests, with Mexico approaching the bargaining table deeply sensitive to its enormous dependence on American credit, American investment, American tourists and even American food. Good faith alone could not eliminate these contradictions, but underlying tensions are kept alive by Mexico's expectation that it will be treated unfairly. Its worst fears are confirmed with sufficient regularity for relations to remain clouded by suspicion and distrust. As the local saying goes: "What would we do without the gringos? But we must never give them thanks." Mexico must depend -- but cannot rely -- on its neighbor (1985, pp. 316-317).

However, despite resentment of America, as Riding points out, few Mexicans express resentment of Americans as individuals (although in jest one hears "Que vengan las gringas y que se queden los gringos." "Let the American women come and the American men stay home.") Many express admiration of Americans for qualities they attribute to them: honesty in government, democracy, efficiency, diligence, technological superiority. American consumer patterns have also had a major influence on Mexican consumption patterns, but that in turn has provoked attacks on these patterns. As Riding notes "There is no consensus: no single image captures how Mexicans see the United States." This fact is reflected in the range of ways English is used in the Mexican press.

THE FUNCTIONS OF MEXICAN JOURNALISTIC CODESWITCHES

Researchers (see for example Elías Olivares, 1976; Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez, 1972; McClure, 1977 and 1981; Valdés-Fallis, 1976 and Valdés, 1981) examining oral codeswitching in Chicano communities in the U.S. have noted that it is used for a wide variety of purposes. Among them are the following: quotation, repetition, interjection, addressee specification, emphasis, clarification, elaboration, focus, attention attraction or retention, personalization versus objectivization, topic shift, and role shift. While the functions of the written codeswitching examined here overlap with those mentioned above, there are differences. Some are simply the result of a difference in channel -- written rather than oral. Addressee specification, role shift and attention attraction are irrelevant in the written mode. Others however, relate to the difference between the social and political contexts in which Chicanos in the U.S. and Mexican journalists codeswitch. An examination of the Mexican corpus reveals the following reasons for switching: (A) lack of a good Spanish translation, (B) lack of a set Spanish word or phrase, (C) greater explicitness of the English form, (D) desire to play with well-known English phrases, (E) emphasis through repetition, (F) simple quotation, (G) quotation to reproduce a style of speech, (H) creation of a sarcastic, satirical or ironic tone, (I) creation of a sophisticated tone, and (J) creation of an erudite tone. Each of these uses is illustrated below.

A. Lack of a good Spanish translation

1. No me precipitaré en el famoso name-dropping, el bombardeo de nombres que, se supone, construyen por aluvión personalidades y famas [Nexos. April, 1989. C. Monsiváis]

I will not throw myself headlong into the famous practice of *name-dropping*, the bombardment of names that, it is supposed, construct personalities and reputations by flood.

2. No fue eso lo que sucedió en los países asiáticos que empezaron como sweat shops. [Contenido. July, 1990. J. Acosta]
It was not that which took place in the Asian countries which began like *sweatshops*.

B. Lack of a set Spanish word or phrase

3. Una grieta se abrió entre ambos, como si el dirigente negro convocara a los odiados demonios que el *american way of life* repudia porque representan la más dura carga de la consciencia. [Siempre. July 11, 1990. S. Del Río]

A crack opened between both, as if the Black director convoked the hated demons that the *American way of life* repudiates because they represent the hardest burden of conscience.

4. La operación, ..., constituye la primera "persecución en caliente" (*hot pursuit*), que desde hace tiempo habían exigido las agencias antidrogas norteamericanas. [Proceso. April 16, 1990. Carlos Puig]

The operation, ..., constitutes the first "pursuit while hot" (*hot pursuit*) that the North American antidrug agencies had demanded in a long time.

C. Greater explicitness of the English form.

5. Casi nadie habla del encuentro sexual fugaz (*one night stand*). [Nexos. June, 1990. Mexico City. A. Román]

Almost no one speaks of the fleeting sexual encounter (*one night stand*).

6. Documentar ese optimismo equivale a enumerar a los protagonistas secretos de la historia, equivale a recuperar para la historia las fiestas efímeras de una sociedad en nacimiento: la prosa como *happening* del *happening*. [Vuelta. June, 1990. C. Monsiváis]

Documenting that optimism is equivalent to enumerating the secret protagonists of history, is equivalent to recovering for history the ephemeral festivities of a society in birth: prose as *happening* of the *happening*.

D. Play with well-known English phrases

7. También a la moderna civilización porfiriana debemos el *american way of drinking*: "las cantinas o bares a la manera americana", escribió Artemio de Valle-Arizpe, "no proceden en México sino en la era en que

gobernaba el general Porfirio Díaz, antes de esos pacíficos años, no eran conocidos tales establecimientos para la bebienda, ..." [Nexos. June, 1990. Joaquín Blanco]

We also owe to the modern Porfirian civilization the *American way of drinking*: "the taverns or bars of American type," wrote Artemio de Valle-Arizpe, "only originate in Mexico in the era in which general Porfirio Díaz governed; before those peaceful years such establishments for drinking were unknown.

8. ... y todo *peace-and-love*, vámonos [Nexos. June, 1990. Joaquín Blanco]

... and all *peace-and-love*, let's go.

9. Traje clásico, corbata clásica, ademanes sobrios, Pedro Aspe sube a la tribuna con un cierto "*Touch of class.*" [Proceso. February 27, 1989. A. M. Mergier]

Classic suit, classic tie, sober gestures, Pedro Aspe climbs to the rostrum with a certain "*Touch of class.*"

10. ¿Entonces a quién se le va a quitar...? -- *That is the question.* -- ¿A los canadienses? [Proceso. March 27, 1989. A. M. Mergier]

Then from whom is it going to be taken...? -- *That is the question.* -- From the Canadians?

11. Pero prevalece la tradición adulta del baile como noche reventada, y el verdadero bailongo -- *the real thing*. [Nexos. June, 1990. Joaquín Blanco]

But the adult tradition of the dance as a blow-out night and the true bailongo [poor but entertaining dance] -- *the real thing* -- prevails.

12. Al final de la jornada, frente a un interminable café, pensamos que la onda, que la meta de ir de *shopping* a Perisur es una experiencia que tiene poco que ver con las compras y mucho con el sentimiento cuasirreligioso de la preposmodernidad mexicana: el chiste es estar ahí, *being there*. [Nexos. June, 1990. F. Báez Rodríguez]

At the end of the day, facing an unending coffee, we think that the point, that the purpose of going *shopping* at Perisur is an experience that has little to do with purchases and much to do with the quasireligious sentiment of the Mexican prepostmodernity: the point is to be there, *being there*.

13. Los amos del espectáculo -- pues *the show must go on* siempre, pase lo que pase -- han dado la pauta desde hace tiempo. [Proceso. March 27, 1989. F. Ponce]

    The directors of the show -- since *the show must go on* always, whatever happens -- have set the standard already.

E. Emphasis through repetition

14. Ya no es escoger entre un mundo o varios -- *one world or several* -- sino por "un mundo o ninguno" -- *one world or none*. [Nexos. June, 1990. L. Arizpe]

    Already it is not a question of choosing between one world or several -- *one world or several* -- but rather for "one world or none" -- *one world or none*.

F. Simple quotation

15. -- Nada. No pasa nada. Están filmando una película ... *It's a picture*! -- intentaban tranquilizarlos los encargados del Princess [hotel]. [Proceso. April 9, 1990. A. Campuzano]

    -- Nothing. Nothing is happening. They are filming a movie ... *It's a picture*! -- the people in charge of the Princess were trying to calm them.

16. En ese momento creímos que la agitación pronto pasaría, pero no, al contrario, cada vez son más los norteamericanos que los viernes por las noches se reúnen en la línea divisoria entre San Isidro y Tijuana, estacionan sus automóviles con las luces encendidas a lo largo de la frontera y con pancartas en mano que dicen "ésta es nuestra frontera y no está suficientemente vigilada" o "mexicanos *go home*," gritan slogans como "éste es nuestro país," "mexicano, no te necesitamos más," etc. [Siempre. July 11, 1990. L. Singer]In that moment we believed that the agitation would soon pass, but no, to the contrary, each time there are more North Americans who on Friday nights get together on the dividing line between San Isidro and Tijuana, park their cars with their lights turned on along the border and with placards in hand which say, "This is our border and it is not watched closely enough" or "Mexicans *go home*," shout slogans like "This is our country," "Mexican, we don't need you anymore," etc.

17. Se pregunta el embajador mexicano ante la OEA, Antonio de Icaza" ¿Vamos a admitir que los extranjeros vengan a decirnos cómo mod-

ernizar nuestros procesos electorales? Y se responde: "*Over my death* [their error] *body*" (sobre mi cadáver). [Proceso. April 9, 1990. C. Puig]

The Mexican ambassador to the OAS, Antonio de Icaza, asks himself "Are we going to allow foreigners to come and tell us how to modernize our electoral processes?" And he answers himself: "*Over my death* [their error] *body*" (over my cadaver).

G. Quotation to reproduce a style of speech

18. La señora la contempló con frialdad, le espetó un "*Don't be silly*," que todavía le duele, y le explicó: "Mira, con mi *shopping* no te metas, si quiero enterarme de Dallas me compro un video. *And that's it.*" [Nexos. June, 1990. C. Monsiváis]

The lady contemplated her coldly, spit out a "*Don't be silly*," that still hurts her, and explained to her: "Look, don't mix into my *shopping*, if I want to find out about Dallas I'll buy myself a video. *And that's it.*

19. Encuentro a un mesero que vio perder en medio minuto un millón de dólares a "*dat* gordo *gai, di* petrolero Baragán, *gut* gordo, *gud old taims*. en toda noche, *gerit*? en toda noche más *of ten milions*! *Di* gordo... [Proceso. September 15, 1989. R. Garibay]

I find a waiter who saw a million dollars lost in half a minute by *that* fat *guy*, *the* oilman Baragán, *good* fat *guy*, *good old times*. The whole night, *hear it*? In the whole night more *of ten millions*! *The* fat *guy*...

H. Creation of a sarcastic, satirical or ironic tone

20. Just crowned like miss Universe 1989, Angela Visser, 22, from Holland, was congratuleted by Tourism former secretary, teacher Carlos Hank González, given her a cheek kiss. The representative of mexican government, formal gown dress, seemingly very pleasure enjoing the show. [The orthographic and grammatical errors are those of the article]

...

Así fue -- más o menos -- el *happy end* del certamen mundial de la belleza. Así: en inglés y con el entusiasta aval del *teacher* Hank González, diligente promotor de "la industria de la paz y la amistad."

...

So it went -- more or less -- the *happy end* of the world beauty contest. So: in English and with the enthusiastic backing of the *teacher* Hank González, diligent promoter of "the industry of peace and friendship."

Ni modo. *The dream is over*. [Proceso. June 1, 1989. F. Ortiz]
That's how it is. *The dream is over*.

21. La transmisión del show, *of course*, será en inglés. [Proceso. May 22, 1989. F. Ortiz]

The transmission of the show will, *of course*, be in English.

22. La hipocresía norteamericana no estriba tanto en los lamentos exagerados por la muerte de un agente de la DEA, y en la indiferencia o incluso el desprecio ante la muerte de decenas de agentes mexicanos (o, *by the way*, de miles de civiles panameños). [Proceso. January 15, 1990. J. Castañeda]

The North American hypocrisy does not rest so much in the exaggerated laments over the death of an agent of the DEA and in the indifference or even the scorn with respect to the death of tens of Mexican agents (or, *by the way*, of thousands of Panamanian civilians).

23. Cuando leí mi ponencia, el Doctor Lightbridge me hizo el siguiente honroso comentario: "*you don't understand Mexico*!" ...

When I read my paper, Doctor Lightbridge made the following honorable comment to me: "*You don't understand Mexico*!" ...

Pero uno se resigna a estas cosas a cambio del paseo. Y hasta se halla patéticamente dispuesto a inventar una abuela que platicaba con una iguana, hacía sopa de palmeras o tocaba el harpsicordio en un palafito en los manglares de Nayarit. Esto con tal de que el mexicanista que platica con uno (romántico, izquierdista, morbosamente nacionalista) se sienta reconfortado y declare a México *a land of fascinating contrasts*. [Vuelta. June, 1990. G. Sheridan]

But one resigns oneself to these things in exchange for the trip. And one even finds himself pathetically willing to invent a grandmother who talked with an iguana, made soup from palm trees or played the harpsichord in a lake dwelling in the mangrove swamps of Nayarit. This is so that the Mexicanist who talks with one (romantic, leftist, pathologically nationalistic) feels comforted and declares Mexico to be *a land of fascinating contrasts*.

I. Creation of a sophisticated tone

24. (ya se sabe: refacciones para electrodomésticos en Artículo 123, aparatos para audio y video en República de El Salvador, materiales ortopédicos en Motolinía, *and so on*) ... [Nexos. June, 1990. F. Báez Rodríguez]

(it's already known: parts for home appliances in Artículo 123, audio and video players in República de El Salvador, orthopedic materials in Motolinía, *and so on*).

25. Orientado por los dudosos consejos de un lejano familiar hipocondriaco, llegué un jueves por la mañana al Hospital General Dr. Manuel Gea González, de la Secretaría de Salud, a las puertas del *deep south* de la capital. [Nexos. June, 1990. M. Ortiz]

Oriented by the doubtful councils of a hypochondriacal distant relative, I arrived one Thursday in the morning at the general hospital Dr. Manuel Gea González, of the Department of Health, at the doors of the *deep south* of the capital.

J. Creation of an erudite tone

26. For native Spanish she had no great care,
At least her conversation was obscure.
Lord Byron, *Don Juan* [introduction to article]
[Vuelta. June, 1990. Carlos Monsivaís]

27. No creo que haya quien pueda decirle *Here and here did México help me*. [Nexos. June, 1990. A. Ruiz Abreu]

I do not believe that there is anyone who can tell him *Here and here did Mexico help me*.

Examples 1 through 13 all involve the use of English to express ideas associated more commonly with an Anglo rather than a Hispanic context. In examples 1 and 2, the English words *name-dropping* and *sweatshops* have been used. Neither has a short Spanish translation. In examples 3 and 4, the phrases *American way of life* and *hot pursuit* appear. Although all can be translated easily, the translations are not set phrases in Spanish as they are in English. In examples 5 and 6, we find the expressions *one night stand* and *happening*. In these cases, although there are short Spanish equivalents for the English forms, the English expressions are more explicit. A happening is a particular type of event while an *acontecimiento* is any type of event. A one night stand is a particular type of *encuentro sexual fugaz* (fleeting sexual encounter). Thus the English forms evoke much richer images than would their Spanish translations. In examples 7 through 13, the journalists play with well-known English phrases which carry strong cultural overtones. In 7 the phrase *American way of life* is changed to *American way of drinking*, perhaps with sarcastic overtones. In 8 the writer turns a well-known hippie phrase, *peace and love*, into a single word with hyphens. In 9, by using the phrase *touch of class*, the writer paints a graphic picture of Mexico's finance secretary and perhaps also refers with light irony to Aspe's U.S. academic training and to his social background. In 10 the same

writer evokes one of the English classics, Hamlet, with the sentence *That is the question*. In 11 we find the use of a phrase, *the real thing*, from American advertising, while 12 evokes images from American popular psychology. In 13 we find a cliché from American show business.

In example 14 the repetition in English of a preceding Spanish phrase emphasizes a point in a manner quite similar to that of a paraphrase in a monolingual text. Exact repetition is inappropriate in written text, but a monolingual author may underline a point by restating it in different words. A bilingual author has an additional resource. Instead of paraphrasing he may switch languages to underscore his point.

In examples 15 through 17 we see a use of codeswitching that is quite common in bilingual communities, exact quotation. In 15 the journalist is reproducing the speech of hotel personnel trying to calm foreign guests during a civil disturbance. In 16 the exact words on a sign are reproduced and in 17 the strong language of a diplomat.

In examples 18 and 19 we see a different use of quotation, the reproduction of a style of speech to evoke a clearer picture of the individuals discussed. In 18 both the content of the conversation and the type of codeswitching used create the image of a certain type of woman from upper or upper middle class Mexican society. In 19 we see a Mexican intellectual's stereotype of the language and culture of the Chicano. The article from which these passages are taken is a broad parody not only of the manner in which Chicanos codeswitch [note the use of Spanish orthography in English utterances and highly unlikely codeswitches such as *en toda noche más of ten milions* "In the whole night more than ten million"] but also of the celebration of one of the most important events in Mexican history in the tasteless atmosphere of Las Vegas.

In examples 20 through 23 we again see the use of codeswitching to create a sarcastic or ironic tone. Here we see the reflection of three tendencies in the Mexican press, leftist criticism of the U.S., resentment of perceived US ascription of subordinate status to Mexico and Mexicans, and resentment of the stereotyping of Mexico as an exotic third world country. All are often associated with the satirical use of English. Examples 20 and 21 contain excerpts from articles on the 1989 Miss Universe Contest held in Cancún, Mexico. By beginning one of his articles with the long fractured English introduction reproduced in 20 and interspersing English throughout both articles, the journalist Ortiz reinforces the sarcastic tone in which he criticizes not only the *teacher* Hank Gonzalez's decision to promote tourism through subsidizing the Miss Universe contest but also the arrogance of the American organizers of the contest who excluded Mexican journalists from many of the events of a contest being held in their own country. Resentment of their casual assumption that broadcasting would be in English is shown in 21. "La transmisión del show, *of course*, será en inglés." [The broadcast of the show...will be in English.] In 20 the use of the phrase *happy end* contributes to the satirical tone established by the phrase "diligent promoter of the industry of peace and friendship" and the juxtaposition of the Mexican cliché *Ni modo* (that's how it is, nothing can be done) with the English cliché, *The dream is over*.

In example 22 the journalist Castañeda complains about American hypocrisy in the Camarena case. It is only the American dead who count. The use of the English phrase *by the way* which suggests an afterthought to refer to the thousands of civilian dead in Panama is strongly ironic. In 23 Guillermo Sheridan highlights the irony of an Anglo criticizing a Mexican for not understanding Mexico by indicating that he did so in English not in Spanish thereby suggesting that the critic's Spanish was not fluent. Additionally, Sheridan complains of the "necessity" felt by the Mexican scholar to invent a colorful background so that an Anglo specialist in Mexico can satisfy his desire to find in Mexico "a land of fascinating contrasts." .

In examples 24 and 25, we see the use of codeswitching simply to create a tone of sophistication. In these passages, which specific words are in English does not seem to be important. What is important is that English is used. On the other hand, in examples 26 and 27, literary quotations in English appear to have been used to create an erudite tone.

CONCLUSION

Codeswitching in Mexican political, literary and news magazines differs from oral codeswitching in Chicano communities in the U.S. both syntactically and pragmatically. Codeswitching in the Mexican press is far more syntactically restricted than is Chicano oral codeswitching. Although nouns constitute the largest category of switches in both types of codeswitching, phrasal, clausal and sentential codeswitching is much more common in oral Chicano codeswitching than in codeswitching in the Mexican press. Spanish is always clearly the matrix language in codeswitching in the Mexican press. In fact it often seems that English sentences and phrases are simply treated as if they were words. On the other hand, in Chicano codeswitching in the U.S., it is often difficult to decide what the matrix language is. In fact, some sentences seem not to have a matrix language. Several factors may account for these syntactic differences. In the first place, there is a channel difference. Oral codeswitching in the Chicano community is generally a relatively unmonitored process whereas codeswitching in the Mexican press is highly monitored. Second, in Mexico the type of oral codeswitching which exists in Chicano communities is negatively stereotyped. Often it is considered to be the result of imperfect mastery of both languages. Third, English in Mexico has an ambivalent status. On the one hand it is a language of prestige. However, on the other, it is the language of an intrusive neighbor, a language against which Spanish should be defended. Fourth, bilingual Chicanos in the U.S. in general constitute a subordinated minority in a society whose mainstream speaks English. As a result they may in fact use English in many contexts: in school, in the workplace, in stores, in healthcare centers, even at home and with friends. But Spanish may also be used in these contexts, the result being frequent codeswitching. In contrast, in Mexico there are few contexts in which the use of English occurs naturally. As a result codeswitching may be inhibited.

The above mentioned factors also affect the pragmatics of codeswitching in the two contexts. The fact that codeswitching in the Mexican press involves a written channel and is addressed to an anonymous audience limits its functions. Unlike oral codeswitching in the Chicano community, it cannot be used to mark a shift in addressee nor to indicate the activation of a particular role relationship between interlocutors.

The functions of codeswitching in the Mexican press are also constrained by the negative Mexican attitude towards the type of frequent codeswitching found in the Chicano community in the U.S. Thus although oral codeswitching in the Chicano community may sometimes simply signal membership in the Chicano speech community, being devoid of other pragmatic significance, such usage does not occur in the Mexican press. Indeed, although Spanish-English bilingualism is a community phenomenon in many parts of the U.S; in Mexico it exists only at the level of the individual.

A final factor circumscribing the functions of codeswitching in the Mexican press is the status of the two languages in question. In Mexico, Spanish is the majority language and a symbol of national identity. English, like the United States, has an ambivalent status. It is at the same time a language of prestige and a language against which Spanish needs to be defended. This ambivalence towards both the U.S. and its language is reflected in its use in the Mexican press. Not only is it employed to evoke a more precise image than a Spanish word or phrase, but also to create a sophisticated or erudite tone. However it is also used in satirical, ironic or sarcastic attacks on American politics and American values, whether found in the U.S. or in Mexico.

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